

THE RACIAL IDENTIFICATION OF TAIWANESE IMMIGRANTS IN THE U.S.
CENSUS, 1980 TO 2000

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

The foreign-born Taiwanese population in the United States come from a politically divided homeland where Chinese national identity has been declining and Taiwanese national identity has been on the rise since the 1990s. Studies in Taiwan have focused on the link between national identity and ethnic identity among Taiwan nationals, but little research has been conducted in the United States concerning the link between national identity and racial identity for Taiwanese Immigrants. Using data from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 5% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series-USA (IPUMS-USA) samples I examine how Taiwanese immigrants have racially identified themselves in each U.S. Census and if their racial identity choices are significantly different across time. Additionally, I conduct a multilevel binomial logistic model of racial identity for Taiwanese immigrants, examining the extent to which socioeconomic, demographic, and contextual level variables are associated with racial identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese using data from the 2000 5% IPUMS-USA sample.

The findings reveal a significant decrease in Chinese racial identity and an increase in Taiwanese racial identity from 1980 to 2000, exemplifying a pattern of racial identification similar to the shift in national identity that occurred in Taiwan since the early 1990s. Findings from the multilevel model of racial identity suggested that Taiwanese immigrants with high socioeconomic statuses are more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. Those having the highest economic status, educational attainment, and greater English proficiency had greater odds of racially

identifying as Taiwanese compared to those living in lower socioeconomic statuses. There were also differences by immigrant cohorts and age groups. Context, in the form of the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state, also appears to be an important factor determining how Taiwanese immigrants racially identify themselves. Furthermore, this thesis highlights how racial formation theory provides a unique framework for analyzing the case of racial identification of Taiwanese immigrants.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to James Chen for inspiring my interest in the topic and sharing your lived experiences with me.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since 1965 the United States has experienced a change in its immigrant's major countries of origin, from primarily European to now primarily Latin American, Caribbean, and Asian. Asians are thus a relatively new immigrant group in the United States, and the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan have been the largest sources of Asian immigrants (Sassen 1989). The onset of new immigrant groups entering the United States would seem to challenge current census racial and ethnic categories with which immigrants are often unfamiliar and find inappropriate as standard racial categories in the United States (Lee and Tafoya 2006). The foreign-born Taiwanese population is one such unique Asian immigrant group for which the U.S. census racial categories have not always represented the breadth of their racial identifications.

The research I will undertake in this thesis will provide a descriptive accounting of Taiwanese racial identification in the United States from 1980 to 2000. I will endeavor to explore whether the racial categories used in the United States are accurately reflecting Taiwanese immigrants' racial identity. I will also examine the extent to which socioeconomic and demographic variables are associated with racial identification formation, seeking to build upon a prior study conducted by Yu and Chiang (2009) which looked at Taiwanese racial identification formation and change from 1990-2000. Before discussing these issues I will provide a short history of the relationship between Taiwan and China. This discussion will hopefully set the stage for understanding some

of the complexities of Taiwanese identity in the country of Taiwan and how this has led to shifts in the racial identification of Taiwanese immigrants in the United States. I will then discuss Yu and Chiang's (2009) study of Taiwanese immigrant identity in the United States; I will expand their study to be more inclusive of all relevant Taiwanese identities. I will also discuss at the end of this chapter my personal interest in this topic.

Background

The foreign-born Taiwanese population in the U.S. is a relatively unique group of individuals because they hail from a politically divided homeland that consists mainly of two groups, those who support the eventual reunification with mainland China, and those who support an independent Taiwan. The complexity of racial identification for Taiwanese immigrants in the U.S. thus stems from Taiwan's long and tumultuous relationship with mainland China. This relationship has led to a bifurcation in the ethnic categorization and national identities of Taiwan-origin peoples. Before continuing my discussion of Taiwan's historical relationship with mainland China, I will first discuss what I mean by racial, ethnic and national identities for people from Taiwan.

Racial, Ethnic and National Identities—Terms Used

As stated earlier, this thesis will explore the formation of racial identities for Taiwanese immigrants in the United States. Race is a socially constructed concept and has been understood as, "...a human group defined by itself or others as distinct by virtue or perceived common physical characteristics that are held to be inherent" (Cornell and Hartmann 1998:24). While race is socially defined on the basis of physical characteristics, the race question in the U.S. census has traditionally included ethnic

groups. Given that I use the current U.S. census racial categories to explore the racial identities of Taiwanese immigrants, I treat racial identity as encompassing what have traditionally been thought of as ethnic groups (Taiwanese and Chinese) to be a part of the race domain. Ethnicity differs from race in that ethnic groups are not defined by perceived common physical characteristics, but by common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and culture (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). When referring to ethnic identity in Taiwan I cite Wang and Liu's (2004) distinction between mainlanders (Taiwan people whose ancestors migrated to Taiwan from mainland China in the post 1940s) and the Taiwanese (Taiwan people whose ancestors migrated from mainland China before the 1940s). These ethnic distinctions will be discussed in more detail in the next section dealing with the history of Taiwan. National identity is understood as "an individual's psychological attachment to a political community united by characteristics that differentiate that community from others" (Wang and Liu 2004: 570). There are three main national identities in Taiwan that I will be referring to in my thesis: Taiwanese, Chinese, and a double Taiwanese and Chinese national identity (Dittmer 2004; Hsieh 2005; Wang and Liu 2004).

Historical Relationship between Taiwan and China

Taiwan is a small island situated in East Asia off the southeastern coast of mainland China (see the map in Figure 1). It is separated by the Taiwan Strait, nearly 100 miles wide from Fujian Province in mainland China to the island of Taiwan.

Taiwan was once a part of imperial China until it was ceded to Japan in 1895. Following the Sino-Japanese war, it was subjected to Japanese control from 1895 to

1945. It then was briefly reconnected with the mainland from 1945 to 1949 under the government of the Kuomintang (KMT) regime headed by Chiang Kaishek. However, in 1949 the KMT regime was officially overthrown by the Communist Party of China (CPC), and KMT officials and two million of its followers then retreated from mainland China to Taiwan. From 1949 to the 1970s KMT leaders governed Taiwan under an authoritarian rule and enforced a greater China identity, "in an attempt to make local residents accept the view that both Taiwan and the Chinese mainland were parts of China and that China was their motherland" (Wang and Liu 2004: 572).

Figure 1. Taiwan in relation to Southeast Asia (source: Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook)



In the 1980s and 1990s Taiwan established itself as a democracy, martial law under the KMT government was lifted, and political parties were legalized (Holdaway 2007). As a result of Taiwan and China's relationship, two distinguishable ethnic groups have emerged in Taiwan, namely, those who are known as *benshengren* (Taiwanese), i.e., the natives of the province whose ancestors migrated from Mainland China around the 17th century, and those who are known as the *waishengren*, known in English as the mainlanders, i.e., the outsiders whose parents or themselves sought refuge in Taiwan from the mainland during the Chinese civil war between 1946-49 (Dittmer 2004). While the Chinese and Taiwanese cultures have common roots, in the last 100 years Chinese (mainlander) and Taiwanese ethnic identities for people in Taiwan have become politically separate, and in many ways this political division has become the source of Taiwan's changing national identities (Huang et al. 2004).

Today, the political and legal status of Taiwan is still a controversial issue. The island of Taiwan is officially known as the Republic of China (ROC) and views itself as a sovereign state. The government of mainland China, i.e., the People's Republic of China (PRC), however, does not view Taiwan as a sovereign state but as an independent territory of the PRC. Today there are two main political parties in Taiwan: 1) the KMT which is part of the Taiwanese Pan-Blue Coalition, which supports eventual unification with the mainland and a Chinese national identity; and 2) the Democratic Progressive Party, the dominant Pan-Green Coalition which supports an independent Taiwan politically separate from mainland China and a Taiwanese national identity.

Recent studies have shown that in the past twenty or so years the national identity of the Taiwanese people has changed from persons predominantly identifying as Chinese to many now identifying themselves as Taiwanese. A study conducted by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan has shown that from 1992 to 2006, people in Taiwan who identify themselves as “Chinese only” has decreased from 26.2% to 6.4%. The percentage of people who consider themselves as “both Taiwanese and Chinese” has grown from 39.1% to 50.9%; and those who consider themselves as “Taiwanese only” has increased from 17.3% to 44.1% (Wu 2007). These numbers suggest that since the early 1990s there has been a rise in an independent Taiwanese national identity and a decline in a Chinese national identity. Indeed this shift in national identity may well be reflecting the idea that more and more people these days are advocating for an independent Taiwan than ever before.

Much research concerning this shift in national identity has dealt with the relationship between ethnic and national identity. Specifically, survey questions have asked whether ethnic identity has an effect on national identity in Taiwan. Most of the research has suggested that national identity and ethnicity are interrelated and mutually interpenetrating (Hsieh 2005; Li 2003). However little research has been conducted about the relationship between national identity and ethnic identity in Taiwan and how this translates to the racial/ethnic identity of Taiwanese immigrants in the United States, except for the important study of Yu and Chiang (2009).

Yu and Chiang’s (2009) study, “Assimilation and Rising Taiwanese Identity: Taiwan-born Immigrants in the United States, 1990-2000,” examines why and how a

growing number of Taiwan-born immigrants in the U.S. have identified themselves as Taiwanese rather than as ethnic Chinese in the U.S. decennial censuses of 1990 and 2000. They use a double cohort method (birth cohorts and immigrant arrival cohorts) to study identity change over time as a temporal process influenced by various factors. Their dependent variable is Taiwanese identity, referring to those who wrote in “Taiwanese,” rather than “Chinese,” as their race entry on the census form. They estimate a model of identity formation and change with several independent variables. These include temporal, social characteristics, as well as contextual level variables.

Yu and Chiang’s (2009) study greatly contributes to the literature on Taiwanese immigrant identity in the United States; however there are some important limitations in their study that I will address in my thesis research. Yu and Chiang (2009) only look at the Taiwanese/Chinese dichotomy of racial identification among Taiwanese immigrants. However we know from prior literature concerning identity in Taiwan that there are three major groups of national/ethnic identity: “Chinese,” “Taiwanese,” and a double identity of both “Chinese and Taiwanese” (Dittmer 2004; Li 2003; Hsieh 2005; Huang 2005; Wu 2007; Yu and Kwan 2008).

In the 1990 U.S. census there were no Taiwanese born immigrants who racially identified as both “Chinese and Taiwanese.” However in the 2000 U.S. census Taiwanese immigrants expanded their racial identification to the three categories of national and ethnic identity found in Taiwan. We must also remember that the 2000 U.S. census allowed respondents for the first time the option of identifying as more than one race and also included the “Other Asian” race category. I will look solely at the 2000

U.S. census data racial categories and will estimate models predicting the identification patterns of Taiwan-born immigrants in the U.S., specifically, those identifying themselves as Taiwanese, compared to Chinese. I will use the same independent social characteristic variables as used by Yu and Chiang (2009). I will not use their temporal variables because of the need to restrict my analysis to 2000. Furthermore, Yu and Chiang (2009) disaggregated their contextual residential location variables down to the individual level, another limitation of their study. In this thesis I will incorporate the contextual residential location variables in a more correctly specified multilevel model. I turn finally to a brief discussion of my personal interest in this topic.

Personal Interest

I became interested in this research following several personal experiences, interactions and conversations with my partner and his family who are Taiwanese-born immigrants. My partner was born in Taiwan and immigrated to the United States with his family when he was three years old. He often related to me that his family did not consider themselves to be Chinese, but instead they considered themselves to be Taiwanese; and they felt very strongly about this identification. He reasoned that their strong Taiwanese identification stemmed from the fact that he and his family had been living in Taiwan for numerous generations and did not agree with the politics of mainland China. Additionally, when discussing how to racially identifying themselves on the U.S. census, my partner and his brother stated that they would identify themselves as Pacific Islanders. I was shocked to learn this due to their strong Taiwanese identity. They racially identified as Pacific Islanders because they viewed Taiwan as an island in

the Pacific Ocean and that none of the available Asian racial categories on the census race question fit their self-reported identity.

These personal discussions along with findings in the literature led me to reflect on the inappropriateness of racial categories in the census for immigrants and to the need to include other racial categories beyond Chinese, Taiwanese and both Chinese and Taiwanese when looking at Taiwanese immigrant racial identification.

The overarching research question I propose to address in this thesis is how do Taiwanese immigrants to the United States identify with the racial categories presented to them in the U.S. Census. More specifically, what is the distribution of Taiwanese immigrants identifying as “Chinese only,” “Taiwanese only,” “Chinese and Taiwanese,” or other races? Furthermore have Taiwanese immigrants to the United States shown a pattern of racial identification similar to the shift in national identity in Taiwan shown from the study conducted by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University (Wu 2007)? Also, what kinds of characteristics of the immigrants have led them to respond to the U.S. census race questions in one way rather than another?

Overall my thesis will seek to broaden the literature of Asian immigrant racial identity, specifically Taiwanese immigrant racial identity in the United States. In addition, I will expand on Yu and Chiang’s (2009) study by widening the racial identification category of Taiwanese immigrants to include not only the Taiwanese/Chinese racial identification dichotomy but also the double identity of both Chinese and Taiwanese and other racial identities that may be relevant to Taiwanese immigrants when discussing Taiwanese immigrant racial identity over time.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter II will discuss the racial formation theoretical framework devised by Omi and Winant (1994) and how it applies to racial identity formation in relation to Taiwanese immigrants. In addition, I will review relevant literature concerning the development of Asian racial categories in the census over time, how the U.S. census racial classifications have shaped racial discourse, racial and ethnic identification of immigrants in general, and quantitative studies of racial and ethnic identification of Asian immigrants in the United States. Chapter III will provide information about my data, the definition of the dependent variable (Taiwanese racial identity) and the individual and structural level variables, the statistical method to be used, and my hypotheses. Chapter IV will provide the descriptive results of Taiwanese immigrant racial identity over time along with the findings from my multilevel model of racial identity. Finally, chapter VI will offers the results of my hypothesis testing, conclusions, implications and future directions of this research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of racial formation theory and how it may be used to understand the racial formation of Taiwanese immigrants. I next review the role of the U.S. census in constructing race and shaping racial discourse. I then discuss the historical development of Asian racial categories in the census. Here I will highlight how the race category choices available to Taiwanese immigrants overtime in the census have played a role in affecting choices of racial identity for this population. Next I will review the relevant literature about how immigrant groups tend to racially identify in the U.S. I end this chapter with a discussion of quantitative studies of racial identity among Asian immigrants in which I will highlight studies specific to the Chinese and Taiwanese population in the U.S.

Review of Literature

Most of the literature concerning ethnic identity in Taiwan stems from two different perspectives known as the primordial, and as the situational or social constructionist (Dittmer 2004; Hsieh 2005; Huang 2005; Yu & Chiang 2009). The primordial perspective argues that people have an innate sense of ethnic identity, and that it is instinctive, natural and difficult to change. Conversely, the situational or the social constructionist perspective argues that ethnic identities are socially defined and emerge through socialization. Within this perspective are sub-theories about how ethnic identity can be formed and reformed, shaped and molded (Le 2009).

Along these lines, Omi and Winant (1994:55) state that we must move away from conceptions of race as something "fixed, concrete, and objective" as well as something that is thought of as merely an "illusion" or "a purely ideological construct which some ideal non-racist social order would eliminate." Instead, they argue that race should be understood as something that is always changing and symbolic of social conflict and interests through reference to different types of human bodies (phenotypes).

Racial Formation Theory

In this thesis I approach racial identity from a social constructionist perspective, more specifically from the racial formation theory devised by Omi and Winant (1994). Racial formation is viewed as the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed. It is also viewed as a process of historically situated projects and the evolution of hegemony. Omi and Winant (1994:56) discuss that historically situated projects are the way in which "human bodies and social structures are represented and organized" and the evolution of hegemony refers to the "way in which society is organized and ruled." In essence, race is seen as a matter of both social structure and cultural representation.

Furthermore, Omi and Winant (1994:66) discuss the state's role in the "organization and interpretation of race." They discuss that the U.S. has a history of being a racial dictatorship; thus the result of this racial dictatorship has led to defining "American" identity as white and in turn producing racialized others (African, indigenous, Latin American and Asian). They provide an example of how the United States' racial dictatorship has shaped racial identification. "Just as the conquest created

the 'native' where once there had been Pequot, Iroquois, or Tutelo, so too it created the 'black'' where once there had been Asante or Ovimbundu, Yoruba or Bakongo" (Omi and Winant 1994:66). We can extend this argument to the discussion of pan-ethnicity in the census and to the minimizing of racial identities which has taken place as a result of the white hegemonic structure in the U.S. This discussion is exceptionally relevant for the Taiwanese immigrant population who has traditionally been encompassed and labeled as part of the Chinese population, when in fact the Chinese population in the U.S. is tremendously diversified in terms of national origins, culture, and language (Zhou (2001) as cited in Min and Kim (2009)).

Overall, racial formation theory provides a unique framework for analyzing the case of racial identification of Taiwanese immigrants. Taiwanese immigrants are seen as entering a society in which race is socially and politically constructed. Upon entering the United States, Taiwanese immigrants are forced to choose from racial categories that have been mandated by the Census Bureau and the Office of Management and Budget. Furthermore the racial identification of Taiwanese immigrants is also shaped by cultural representations. Ideas presented to them by the media, stereotypes, and other sources could well be influential in shaping their racial identification.

The U.S. Census: Shaping Racial Discourse about Asian Racial Groups

The U.S. Census Bureau, since its inception, has been an institution that has shaped the way race has come to be understood in the United States. As the primary government institution involved in collecting and reporting racial statistics, it has aided in the creation, maintenance, and advancement of racial discourse (Anderson 1988; Lee

1993; Hirschman et al. 2000; Nobles 2002). One such way the U.S. Census has served a role in shaping racial discourse is through its development of racial categories. Lee (1993:76) elaborates on this idea and argues that the “census racial categories represent political, legal, and professional authority to the public,” and that these categories “influence how others perceive and understand race.” Thus the Asian racial categories presented in the various decennial censuses tend to reflect the legitimate means to understand people originating from Asia.

History of Asian Racial Categories in the Census

Taiwan origin people are considered to be part of the Asian population in the United States. The U.S. Census Bureau has used the Office of Management and Budget’s (OMB) standards for classification of federal data on race and ethnicity as set forth in the Statistical Policy Directive No. 15 since the 1980 decennial census (with adjustments made according revisions of the directive in 1997). The OMB defines “Asian” as persons “...having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam” (U.S. Census Bureau 2012:2).

While racial data have been collected since the very first decennial census in 1790, Asian racial groups were not listed as census racial categories until 1860. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2012), the 1860 decennial census was the first to include an Asian racial category—“Chinese,” although this response option was only available in the race question for residents of the state of California. With the 1870

decennial census, “Chinese” was included as a racial category nationwide and “Japanese” was included for the first time only in the California census. Changes were made to the Asian racial categories again in 1890 with both “Chinese” and “Japanese” becoming available race responses in the census nationwide. The Asian racial categories remained the same (including only “Chinese” and “Japanese”) from 1890 to 1920. The Asian racial category expanded once again in the 1930 decennial census. In addition to Chinese and Japanese, three new categories were introduced: Filipino, Hindu, and Korean (Lee 1993). There were no further changes in the Asian racial categories until 1950 when Hindu and Korean were omitted from the list of races. In the 1970 census, “Korean” was added once again to the Asian racial categories, and in 1980 “Asian Indians” were added. The 1980 decennial census also included “Vietnamese” as a racial category for the first time, thus expanding the Asian racial category group further. Since 1980, the Asian racial categories have remained largely unchanged (Lee 1993; U.S. Census Bureau 2012).

Thus the Asian racial categories have expanded from only including one Asian racial group, “Chinese,” to now including six racial groups, namely, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Asian Indian, Filipino, and Vietnamese. The 2000 decennial census, which I am using in my analyses of Taiwanese immigrant racial identification, includes the same six Asian racial categories (Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese) that have been present since the 1980 decennial census. In addition it provides an “Other Asian” category (see Figure 2) in which respondents can write-in a race not listed. An important difference made to the 2000 decennial census race question

was the option for respondents to select one or more race categories to indicate their racial identities. There are no differences in the Asian racial categories listed in the 2010 decennial census.

These six Asian racial categories currently represent those officially recognized by the federal government and thus shape our understandings of racial groups among the Asian population today. These six Asian racial categories obviously do not encompass all of the Asian diasporas, but instead can be interpreted as reflecting the prevailing ideologies of race for the Asian population in the United States.

Lee (1993) uses a sociology of knowledge perspective to discuss four issues related to interpreting census racial classifications, two of which are particularly relevant for understanding Taiwanese immigrant racial identification in the larger context of Asian race groups. Her arguments are that census racial classifications transform many ethnic groups into a few pan-ethnic racial groups, and that the census conflates race and ethnicity.

Lee's (1993) argument that the census transforms many ethnic groups into a few pan-ethnic racial groups is particularly relevant when examining the Asian racial categories. While she (1993:85) argues that this can be seen through the context of the 1990 census where "the grouping of several Asian and Pacific Islander groups [are placed] into a larger population called the 'Asian and Pacific Islander (API)' population," this argument could be extended to understanding the current six Asian racial classifications as representing pan-ethnic racial groups within themselves. The

“Chinese” racial classification in the census could be viewed as a pan-ethnic racial group encompassing people from many diverse backgrounds.

Min and Kim (2009) discuss the heterogeneity of the Chinese immigrant population as including people who differ in terms of national origins, language, political ideologies and socioeconomic backgrounds. Furthermore, Zhou (2001) as cited in Min and Kim (2009) notes that Chinese immigrants originate from other countries or political entities apart from mainland China, namely: Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, the Philippines and other Asian countries. The diverse backgrounds and contexts from which Chinese immigrants originate can impact their racial identities in the United States (Lien 2008), and this may be especially relevant for the Taiwanese immigrant population. Understanding the racial identities of Taiwanese immigrants is thus important because they may or may not identify with the all encompassing pan-ethnic racial group of "Chinese" in the census.

Racial discourse in the United States is also shaped by the census treatment of ethnic groups as racial groups. Race is a socially constructed concept and has been understood as, "...a human group defined by itself or others as distinct by virtue or perceived common physical characteristics that are held to be inherent" (Cornell and Hartmann 1998:24). While race is socially defined on the basis of physical characteristics, the race question in the U.S. census has traditionally included ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are not defined by perceived common physical characteristics, but by common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and culture (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). Lee (1993) notes that the listing of many Asian ethnic groups as

categories of the race question has led to the mixing of racial and ethnic domains and the confusion of race and ethnicity. In addition, this conflation of race and ethnicity has likely led some Asian groups in the U.S., such as Taiwan-origin peoples, wondering why their racial group is not available. Snipp (2003) notes that in response to the 1990 census, Taiwanese and Arab American advocacy groups argued that Taiwanese and Arab responses should be included as choices available on the race question. This clearly illustrates how racial discourse today has been shaped by the census treatment of ethnic groups as racial groups and how our understanding of race has expanded to include ethnic groups.

For some Taiwanese origin people, including first-generation Taiwanese immigrants, the Asian racial categories in the census today may not display an adequate representation of their racial identities. This is due in part to the way the census has shaped racial discourse—the conflating of race and ethnicity as well as transforming many ethnic groups into a few pan-ethnic racial groups. Thus, it is important to identify my overarching research question—How do Taiwanese immigrants to the United States identify with the racial categories presented to them in the U.S. census? More specifically it is important to understand if Taiwanese immigrants are adopting and becoming encompassed by the readily available “Chinese” racial category or choosing to identify as “Taiwanese” or both “Chinese and Taiwanese.” This occurrence may also reflect whether the trend of a rising “Taiwanese” national identity as discussed in Wu (2007) may be impacting the racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants to the United States, and if Taiwanese immigrants are challenging the racial discourse put forth by the

census that racial groups are distinct, separate, and mutually exclusive racial groups (Nobles 2002).

Racial/ethnic Identity and Immigrants

This section discusses how immigrants in general challenge U.S. racial discourse (as set by federal standardization of racial categories) by not racially identifying with one of the U. S. census standard racial categories. I review some of the literature that has guided my research questions concerning the appropriateness of U.S. census racial categories for Taiwanese immigrants as well as how available racial categories in the census might shape the way Taiwanese immigrants racially identify.

In their article, “Rethinking US Census Racial and Ethnic Categories for the 21st century,” Lee and Tafoya (2006) note that racial and ethnic categories in the U.S. census have continually changed; they show how high levels of immigration and a growing multiracial population have challenged current census racial and ethnic categories. They state that many immigrants are unfamiliar with standard racial categories in the United States and often find them inappropriate.

Furthermore, Higham (1984) and Portes and Rumbaut (1996) both report that immigrants have a long history of challenging dominant ethnic/racial understandings in the U.S. Most immigrants do not arrive in the U.S. with self-identities that match the ethnic/racial categories most prevalent in this country.

The ethnic and racial categories that are most prevalent in the United States have been discussed by Hollinger (1995). He mentions that immigrants enter a society which has increasingly adopted an “ethno-racial pentagon” which is alien to most newcomers

in this country. This adoption of an ethno-racial pentagon is a product of the Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) Directive No. 15 which was designed to standardize racial classifications used by government agencies when collecting racial data. As a result of Directive No. 15's adoption in 1977, the collection of racial data for five groups (American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asians and Pacific Islanders, Non-Hispanic Blacks, Non-Hispanic Whites and Latinos) became standard. Revisions to Directive No. 15 in 1997 authorized slightly different categories: American Indian or Alaska Native (including Central and South America), Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, and White. The U.S. census follows the OMB guidelines for collecting racial statistics. Immigrant groups, as well as multiracial groups, tend to challenge these standardized racial categories (Lee and Tafoya 2006).

The Salience of Race as National Identity

One of the most important ways that immigrants challenge the way race is measured in the United States derives from their identities falling outside federal standardized racial categories such as those presented in the census. Scholars focusing on immigrant identity have noted that immigrants tend to racially identify themselves in national origin terms (Rodriguez 2000; Sears et al. 2003; Kusow 2006; Lien 2008). In a study examining the racial identity formation of Somali immigrants in the United States, Kusow (2006) found that blackness was not a meaningful racial category, and that race in Somalia is understood in a different context than in North America. Instead of racially identifying themselves with the standard racial category of Black, Somali immigrants

understood their race to simply be Somali, or in other words, they racially identified in terms of national origin.

Likewise scholars who have focused on different immigrant populations such as Latinos and Asians have found racial identity to often be expressed in terms of nation origins. Rodriguez (2000) notes that in the 1990 census more than 40 percent of Hispanics chose the "some other race" category compared to less than 1 percent of the non-Hispanic population. This phenomenon of a significant portion of the Latino population identifying as "some other race" has continued into the 2000 census as noted by Tafoya (2004). Rodriguez (2000) hypothesizes that those Latinos who checked the "some other race" category are asserting that they culturally or politically do not view themselves as one of the standardized racial categories. In addition, she states that many Latinos who chose the "some other race" category also wrote-in the name of their Latino country or group origins as "Dominican, Honduran, or Boricua," as a way to explain their race through "otherness" (Rodriguez 2000:7).

Sears and colleagues (2003) found that among Asian and Latino immigrant college students, the majority described their race in terms of national origins rather than panethnically.

Asian Immigrants in the United States

I now turn to some of the literature concerning Asian immigrants. Aoki and colleagues (2004) discuss that Asian Americans often experience the common problem of ethnic misidentification and racial lumping. In their paper they present the example of Hmong immigrants who were astonished to be called Chinese. Also, Tuan's (1998)

study of Asian immigrants found that immigrants and their children tend to identify primarily in ethno-national terms. Min and Kim's (2000) study delves deeper into the formation of ethnic and racial identities of 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation Asian immigrants in the United States representing seven different ethnic groups: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Indian and Bangladesh. Their analyses of the narratives illustrate that the 1.5 and 2nd generation Asian-Americans experienced a shift from rejecting their ethnic culture in their youth to coming once again to adopt an ethnic identity. They observed that most essayists had strong ethnic identity, but most expressed their racial identity as pan-Asian or as a person of color. Given that Min and Kim's (2000) analyses included mostly the 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrants, pan-Asian racial identities tended to predominate, but ethnic identities remained strong.

Other studies have recognized the salience of first generation Asian immigrants linking their identities to specific countries of origin (Kibria 2000; Zhou 2004; Lien 2008; Min and Kim 2009). Min and Kim (2009) examine ethnic and sub-ethnic attachments among Chinese, Korean, and Indian first generation immigrants in New York. Part of their analyses included asking respondents to choose their identity label as either American, Asian American, regional (South or East Asian), hyphenated-American (Chinese, Korean or Indian American), national (Chinese, Korean, or Indian, sub-ethnic (Taiwanese/Hong Kong Chinese or Taiwanese/Hong Kongese, Indian Muslim or Indian Christian, or Korean Christian) and other. They found that the majority, over 50 percent of the Chinese, Korean, and Indian immigrants they sampled, identified in either national or sub-ethnic terms. About one-quarter of the Chinese and Indian respondents chose the

sub-ethnic label for their identity, while only 6 percent of Korean respondents did so; more Koreans tended to identify in national terms. Min and Kim (2009:774) explain their finding that more Chinese and Indian immigrants identified sub-ethnically compared to Korean immigrants as not surprising, given that these groups tend to be sub-ethnically divided "based on religion, national origin and/or provincial origin."

These findings concerning Asian immigrants provide important insights into the phenomenon of Taiwanese-born immigrants linking their racial identity along ethno-national terms, such as racially identifying as Taiwanese. I will now turn to a discussion of quantitative studies of racial identification among Asian immigrants.

Quantitative Studies of Racial/Ethnic Identity among Asian Immigrants

In this section I will discuss two quantitative studies of racial identity that specifically focus on the identities of Taiwanese immigrants in the United States.

Lien (2008) examines how places of socialization influence sub-ethnic self identities of Chinese immigrants who were raised in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong and came from politically divided homelands. She uses data from the 2007 Chinese American Homeland Politics (CAHP) survey which sampled Chinese-surnamed subjects with ancestral origins from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong who were residing in Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Houston, and Chicago.

The author's main variable of interest was ethnic self-identity, which was measured in the survey as follows: "People think of themselves in different ways. How would you identify yourself? For example, would you say you are a Chinese American, or a Taiwanese American, or a Hong Kong American, or an Asian American, or how

would you identify yourself?" (Lien 2008:159). She uses multinomial regression analysis to predict respondent's ethnic self identity as Chinese, American Chinese, or Chinese American as opposed to a non-Chinese ethnic self identity. She also estimates a logistic regression equation to predict respondent's ethnic self identity as Taiwanese versus non-Taiwanese ethnic self identities. In both models, variables related to place of socialization, transnational ties, views on homeland government and politics, as well as connectedness to US institutions were used to predict Chinese-related and Taiwanese-related ethnic identities.

Lien (2008) finds that for predicting respondents' likelihood to identify with one of the Chinese ethnic identities (Chinese, American Chinese, or Chinese American as opposed to a non-Chinese ethnic self identity), place of socialization does matter. However, only those raised in Taiwan as a native Taiwanese as opposed to all other socialization contexts (raised in China, Taiwan as a Mainlander, Hong Kong, USA) are less likely to self-identify as Chinese or Chinese American. When examining the effects of transnational ties, those maintaining less frequent social ties with either China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan are less likely to identify as American Chinese, and those who maintain economic ties are more likely to self-identify as Chinese or American Chinese. When examining homeland political views and concerns, those who are supportive of the U.S. One-China policy and who are concerned or dissatisfied with the Democratic Progressive Party's (DPP) role in Taiwan are more likely to self-identify with all three of the Chinese ethnic identities. In addition holding U.S. citizenship and expressing an

ethnic linked fate with other Chinese Americans seems to increase the likelihood of identifying as Chinese American only.

In summary, she found that when predicting a Taiwanese ethnic identity, place of socialization in terms of being raised in Taiwan as either a native Taiwanese or a Mainlander tended to increase the respondent's likelihood to identify as Taiwanese over non-Taiwanese ethnic identities. Maintaining social transnational ties also increases respondent's likelihood to identify as Taiwanese, but maintaining cultural transnational ties in the form of using more Chinese/Mandarin language decreases this likelihood. In addition, supporting Taiwan's unification with China and having a concern over the DPP's rule in Taiwan both decrease respondents' likelihood of adopting a Taiwanese identity. Connectedness to U.S. institutions were not significant in predicting Taiwanese ethnic self-identity.

Overall, Lien (2008) makes a strong case for evaluating places of socialization, transnational ties, views on homeland government and politics, and connectedness to US institutions for understanding the complexity of ethnic self-identities of the Chinese immigrant population in the United States. She shows that differences in homeland socialization and political ideologies especially for those raised in Taiwan are relevant for structuring ethnic identity preferences.

Yu and Chiang (2009), on the other hand, move away from studying ethnic self-identity; instead they examine the racial identity of Taiwan-born immigrants in the U.S. In their study, they examine factors affecting the likelihood of Taiwanese-born immigrants to racially identify as Taiwanese instead of Chinese. Using data from the 5-

percent Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) for the U.S. from the 1990 and 2000 censuses, they examine the effects of age, duration of U.S. residence, English proficiency and use at home, educational attainment, poverty status, and residential location on the likelihood of racially identifying as Taiwanese versus Chinese.

They found that assimilation related variables play an important role in affecting identity. Those who speak only English at home are less likely to racially identify as Taiwanese. Highly educated immigrants have higher propensities to identify as Taiwanese. Immigrant cohorts who came to the U.S. before the 1970s were least likely to claim Taiwanese identity as well as those who live outside of Taiwan-born immigrant communities. These patterns indicate that assimilation to the United States, in terms of only speaking English at home, or only living in the United States longer, might lead Taiwanese immigrants to adopt an identity that Americans might readily enforce upon them, namely, a Chinese identity. Highly educated Taiwanese immigrants and those who live in ethnic immigrant communities are more likely to identify as Taiwanese; these findings seem to suggest the important effects of globalization and that these contexts allow for the greater knowledge of transnational issues resulting in Taiwanese centered racial identities.

These two aforementioned studies have established the various connections between aspects of homeland socialization, transnational ties, views on homeland government and politics, as well as assimilation related variables (English language proficiency, duration of residence in U.S., educational attainment and residential proximity to co-ethnics) as important indicators of racial and ethnic identity among the

Taiwan immigrant population. Variables related to places of socialization and transnational political concerns used in Lien's (2008) work are unfortunately not available in the census data and will therefore not be used in my analyses in this thesis. Assimilation related variables, however, will be examined in my analyses of Taiwanese racial identity; however, there is one important difference setting my study apart from Yu and Chiang's (2009), namely, the utilization of a multilevel model.

In the next chapter, I will present a discussion of the data and methods to be used in this study and how my incorporation of a multilevel model which measures the effects of racial composition on the individual level assimilation related variables will seek to improve on past work of racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I outline the data and methodology I use in this thesis; there are two parts of the analysis. I first provide a descriptive accounting of Taiwanese racial identification in the United States from 1980 to 2000. This is done to determine whether Taiwanese immigrants to the United States show a pattern of racial identification similar to the shift in national identity in Taiwan (Wu 2007), in other words, moving towards a Taiwanese or both Chinese and Taiwanese identity. In the next part, I then examine the extent to which socioeconomic and demographic variables are associated with the racial identity of "Taiwanese" compared to "Chinese" among Taiwanese immigrants. I build upon Yu and Chiang's study (2009) which looked at Taiwanese racial identification formation and change from 1990-2000; in my analysis I extend their work by introducing a multilevel model of racial identity.

Part I: Descriptive Component, Racial Identity of Taiwanese Immigrants from 1980-2000

Data

In the first part of my analyses I examine how immigrants from Taiwan have racially identified from 1980 to 2000. The data utilized for this descriptive component all come from the USA Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA). The IPUMS data sets are drawn from fifteen federal censuses conducted between 1850-2000 and from the American Community Surveys of 2000-2012. The IPUMS datasets use microdata; therefore, each case in these datasets represents an individual person with

their characteristics numerically coded. The IPUMS-USA datasets are drawn from the federal censuses and represent the most complete public data source in the United States to study small groups like Taiwanese immigrants. I use the 1980 and 1990 5% state sample and the 2000 5% samples, all of which are 1-in-20 national random samples. Both the 1990 5% state and 2000 5% samples are weighted, but the 1980 5% state sample is not. For all three samples the smallest level of identified geography has at least 100,000 population. The most basic geographic variable in the 1980 sample is the county group which could contain any counties or portions of counties adding up to 100,000 population. In the 1990 and 2000 samples the most basic geographic variable is the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA) which does not cross state boundaries and is equivalent to the county group used in the 1980 sample.

Sample Selection

The descriptive component of my analyses focuses on the racial identification choices of Taiwanese immigrants over time. Using the 5% IPUMS samples for the 1980, 1990, and 2000 census I identify Taiwanese immigrants using the variable place of birth and include in my sample only those people who were born in Taiwan and have subsequently immigrated to the U.S. Furthermore, I include only individuals who were age 21 or older at the time of the census. I restrict my sample to those aged 21 or older in an attempt to get at a population who has developed their own racial identity, and may now be living independently; this is done because many of the variables I use are theoretically relevant for adults. Nevertheless, it cannot be determined if each individual in the sample answered the race question for themselves. The person identified as the

head of household on the census is often the individual filling out the census questionnaire for all in the household.

In addition, the sample is also restricted by ancestry in order to identify Taiwanese born individuals who trace their ancestry to some part of China or Taiwan. This is done to eliminate individuals who may have been born in Taiwan but whose ancestors did not originate from China or Taiwan (e.g. a white person born to American parents in Taiwan). In addition people who reported their ancestry as Asian or other Asian are included in order to keep those who may be vague in their ancestry response or who might have adopted a pan-Asian ancestry identity. Those individuals who do not report an ancestry are also included in the sample. Thus the list of ancestries in my sample are Chinese, Cantonese, Formosan, Manchurian, Mandarin, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwanese, Asian, other Asian, and those who did not report an ancestry.

Methodology

In examining the racial identity choices of Taiwanese immigrants I use the question asking about the respondent's race to examine the racial identification of Taiwan born individuals. In order to ascertain if Taiwanese immigrants are choosing racial identities that are along the lines of the federal standardized racial categories, I determine if they are racially identifying with one of the federal standardized racial categories (White, Black, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan) or if they are writing in the answers of Taiwanese, both Chinese and Taiwanese, or some other race.

Furthermore, I compare if the racial identity choices of Taiwanese immigrants are significantly different across time (from 1980 to 1990 to 2000) by conducting a chi-squared test. For the chi-squared test I constructed a dummy variable of racial identity. The dummy variable measures Chinese racial identity versus non-Chinese racial identities. The reason the outcome variable measures Chinese racial identity versus non-Chinese racial identities instead of Taiwanese racial identity versus non-Taiwanese racial identities is because the Chinese racial category was chosen each year by a number of respondents, but the Taiwanese racial identity category was not. The chi-squared test assesses if the differences in racial identity across the different census years occurred by chance or if the difference is statistically significant. The chi-squared test is appropriate given that the outcome variable, Chinese racial identity, is dichotomous. Non-Chinese racial identities include all standard racial identities that are not listed specifically as Chinese, the writing in of Taiwanese, both Chinese and Taiwanese, and all other non-standardized racial identities that Taiwanese immigrants identified with in each prospective census year.

Part II: Multilevel Model of Racial Identity

Data

In order to examine the extent to which socioeconomic, demographic, and contextual variables are associated with Taiwanese immigrants racially identifying as "Taiwanese" compared to "Chinese," I estimate a multilevel model of racial identity. The multilevel model of racial identity is necessary because I take into account both individual and state-level variables. Other work concerning the racial identity of

Taiwanese immigrants (Yu and Chiang 2009) has also taken into account both individual and contextual level variables. Yu and Chiang (2009), however, did not use a multilevel logit model; instead they used a logistic regression and disaggregated their contextual level variables, namely, percent Taiwan-born immigrants and percent [mainland] Chinese population within each public use micro area (PUMA), down to the level of the individual. The problem with disaggregating contextual level variables to the level of the individual is that this approach treats Taiwanese born immigrants who are from the same PUMA as having the same values on percent Taiwan-born immigrants and percent [mainland] Chinese population within each PUMA. We therefore cannot use the assumption of independence of observations that needs to be met when using classical statistical techniques because Taiwanese-born immigrants are not randomly assigned to PUMAs. Therefore my work seeks to enhance the work of Yu and Chiang (2009) by employing a more statistically correct model, a multilevel logit model. This model can adjust the standard errors of the relationship between the individual level factors and the dependent variable of the individuals who are nested in higher order units, in this case, at the state-level.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this multilevel analysis is the racial identification of Taiwanese foreign born individuals as answered on the 2000 census question dealing with race. Table 1 provides a description and the operationalization of racial identification in the multilevel analysis. Racial identification is based on the two most relevant racial responses, "Chinese" and "Taiwanese." Racial identity is a dichotomous

variable. Individuals who selected "Taiwanese" are assigned a value of "1" and those who chose "Chinese" are given a value of "0."

Table 1. Dependent Variable

Variable	Description	Operationalization
Racial Identity	The racial identity of a Taiwanese immigrant, i.e., those who wrote in "Taiwanese" rather than "Chinese" as their race on the census form. (dichotomous variable)	1 = Taiwanese 0 = Chinese

Independent Variables

Level 1

Immigrant Cohort Period

Immigrant cohort period represents the year the individual immigrated to the U.S. It is operationalized into four dummy variables representing the categories of those who arrived in the U.S. before 1970, between 1970-1979, 1980-1989, and 1990-2000. The reference category is the immigration cohort of 1990-2000 because it is the latest time period in which Taiwan-born individuals could immigrate to the U.S. In addition, recently arrived Taiwanese immigrants are more likely to be influenced by rising nationalism in Taiwan than those who arrived earlier. Each immigrant cohort has unique historical experiences associated with year of arrival to the U.S. and departure from their home country. Immigrant cohorts are differentiated by their distinct experiences with respect to Taiwanese nationalism, cross-Strait tensions, socioeconomic conditions, and immigration policy when they migrated from Taiwan to the U.S. These experiences are potentially relevant in affecting individual identity. In my thesis, I expect that the earliest

immigrant cohorts (those who experienced a more repressive KMT government) and the latest immigrant cohort would be more likely to identify as Taiwanese over Chinese. Yu and Chiang's (2009) study included all of the above immigrant cohort categories with the exception of 1990-2000.

Economic Status/Poverty Level

Economic status has frequently been used by scholars who study assimilation and racial and ethnic identification (Alba and Nee 2003; Lee and Bean 2004). These scholars note that racial and ethnic identification interacts with socioeconomic status in complex ways. Identity for new immigrants does not appear to follow a straight-line trajectory of change with social and economic mobility. Instead ethnic identification appears strongest among the lowest and highest social classes of immigrant groups (Bean, Stevens, and Wierzbicki 2003). While this thesis examines the racial identification choice of Taiwanese over Chinese, and not an Asian racial identity over an American assimilated racial identity such as white, this model of assimilation and racial identity, I argue, can be applied to Taiwanese immigrants choice of identifying as Taiwanese over Chinese. Historically, the Taiwanese racial identity can be viewed as the marginalized identity, while a Chinese identity would be viewed as an assimilated identity as a part of a greater China. During the Japanese rule and occupation of Taiwan, the native culture and language was suppressed (Brown 2004). Immediately following Japanese rule, the KMT government ruled Taiwan for 40 years. During this time the Taiwanese language was banned in the media and the use of "Taiwanese" to describe the people of Taiwan was not permitted (Baum and Sherry 1999). Thus I argue that Taiwan immigrants with

both very high and very low economic statuses will tend to identify as Taiwanese over Chinese.

The Economic status or poverty status variable is operationalized into four dummy variables with the categories: 1) below the poverty line representing a poor economic status, 2) one to four times above the poverty line representing a median low economic status, 3) four to five times above the poverty line representing a median high economic status, and 5) five times or more above the poverty line representing a high status. The reference group is the high economic status category. These categories follow Yu and Chiang's (2009) operationalization of their economic status variable.

Educational Attainment

Educational attainment is similar to economic status and is a part of one's socioeconomic status; thus educational attainment affects one's racial identity in the same manner as economic status. I hypothesize that both lowly and highly educated Taiwanese immigrants will racially identify as Taiwanese over Chinese. Educational attainment is operationalized into three dummy variables, namely, "less than high school," "high school diploma and some college," and "4-year college degree." These are the same categories presented in Yu and Chiang's (2009) study and the category "high school diploma and some college" is used as the reference group. The high school dropout category includes all educational attainment categories of those who did not obtain their high school diploma and below. The "high school diploma and some college" category represents all those who graduated from high school as well as those who received some college education but did not graduate from college with a

bachelor's degree. The "4-year college degree" category includes all those who graduated from college with a bachelor's degree and those with higher educational attainments.

English Language Proficiency

English language proficiency refers to the combined questions on the 2000 census, "Does this person speak a language other than English at home?" and "How well does this person speak English?" Responses to the ability to speak English question are very well, well, not well, and not at all. English proficiency for this thesis is operationalized into three dummy variables: "English only," "well," and "not-well." The "English only" category includes individuals who speak only English at home and the "well" category includes individuals who are able to speak English very well or well. The "not well" category includes individuals who can speak English "not well" or "not at all". The reference category in my study, as well as in Yu and Chiang's (2009) analysis, is the English proficiency category of "not well." English proficiency is often used as an indicator of assimilation. Yu and Chiang (2009) argue that higher English proficiency leads to a greater involvement with the host society and greater social distance from the country of origin; thus it is expected that the greater the English proficiency the less Taiwan-born individuals would identify as Taiwanese.

Age

In this study I want to examine the racial identification choices of those age 21 and older. I thus restrict my sample in this manner in order to examine racial identification choices of individuals who have had the opportunity to develop a racial

identity of their own. While racial identity formation does not necessarily become static and can continue to change and develop throughout the life course, I use age 21 as a proxy for individuals who might have had the opportunity to develop their own racial identity throughout their adolescence (Phinney 1990). Given that these data are taken from the 2000 census, we know that individuals included in the sample may not have filled out the census form themselves. Instead, racial identity may have been imposed by the head of household or by whomever filled out the census form. Despite this limitation of using racial identification data from the census, restricting the sample to ages 21 and older is necessary in order to conduct an analysis in which variables are relevant only towards an adult population.

Age is operationalized into six different dummy variables representing different age groups: 21-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and 65 and older. The reference group is the age category of 25-34. These age groups are patterned after those used by Yu and Chiang (2009) in their logit model of racial identity. I hypothesize that Taiwanese immigrants will be more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese if they are in the youngest age group, 21-24, and the older age groups of 55-64 and 65 years and older. Most immigrants in the sample arrived to the U.S. between the years of 1980 to 2000. If the majority of the older age groups immigrated from 1980 to 2000, they would have most likely been living in Taiwan before the termination of martial law in 1987 and experiencing a more repressive KMT government. I expect that the youngest age group will be more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese either due to influence from older familial relations or experiencing rising Taiwanese nationalism in the 1990s.

Table 2. Level-1 Independent and Control Variables

Variable Name	Description	Operationalization
Immigrant Cohort Period	The arrival/immigrant cohort to the U.S. that the individual belongs to (arriving in the U.S. before 1970, 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-2000); set of dummy variables	1 = Immigrated before 1970 0 = Other; 1 = Immigrated between 1970-1979 0 = Other; 1 = Immigrated between 1980-1989 0 = Other; 1 = Immigrated between 1990-2000 0 = Other
Poverty	Whether the individual lives below the poverty threshold, 1 to 4 times above poverty line, 4 to 5 times above , or over 5 times above poverty line; set of dummy variables	1 = below poverty line 0 = Other; 1 = 1 to 4 times poverty line 0 = Other; 1 = 4 to 5 times poverty line; 0 = Other; 1 = 5+ times poverty line 0 = Other
Educational Attainment	The educational attainment of the individual, either less than high school, high school diploma and/or some college, or college degree and/or higher; set of dummy variables	1 = <High School, 0 = Other 1 = High school and /or some college, 0 = Other; 1 = College degree +, 0 = Other
English Proficiency	The ability of the individual to speak English: those who speak only English, speak English well (includes very well and well speakers) or not well (includes not well and non-English speakers); set of dummy variables	1 = English only, 0 = Other 1 = English well, 0 = Other 1 = English not well, 0 = Other
Age	The age group that the individual belongs to: ages 21-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and 65 and older; set of dummy variables	1 = 21-24, 0 = Other 1 = 25-34, 0 = Other 1 = 35-44, 0 = Other 1 = 45-54, 0 = Other 1 = 55-64, 0 = Other 1 = 65+, 0 = Other
Gender	The gender of the individual, female or male; dichotomous variable	1 = Female 0 = Male

Gender is included in the multilevel model of racial identity as a control variable. It is operationalized as a dummy variable where female respondents are assigned a value of "1" and male respondents are given a value of "0." A description and operationalization of each level-1 independent variable is presented above in Table 2.

Level 2

Rate of Taiwanese Racial Identifiers by State

The level two variable in my study aims to explore the contextual level effects of racial identity. I explore how the rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state affects the racial identity choices of the Taiwanese foreign born population in each state. The "Taiwanese State Rate" is calculated by dividing the number of all individuals in the state who racially identify as "Taiwanese" by the state population and then multiplying this number by 1,000. Table 3, below, provides a brief description and operationalization of the Taiwanese State Rate.

$$\text{Taiwanese State Rate} = \frac{\text{Taiwanese Racial Identifiers in State}}{\text{State Population}} * 1,000$$

This rate was calculated for each of the 51 states in the United States, including the District of Columbia. This variable is included in the analysis to examine whether the number of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state may affect foreign born Taiwanese individuals racial identity. Table 3, below, provides a brief description and operationalization of the Taiwanese State Rate.

Table 3. Level-2 Independent Variable

Variable Name	Description	Operationalization
Taiwanese State Rate	Rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state; continuous variable	Continuous

Description of Statistical Methods

Before estimating multilevel models, it is necessary to determine whether there is a statistically significant amount of variation in the dependent variable, racial identity, at the level of the state, i.e., level-2 in my model. To show that the variation which occurs between states is significant, a one-way ANOVA test was run in order to estimate the intraclass correlation (ICC). Table 4 presents the results for the ICC and the one-way ANOVA test. An alternative method for computing the ICC is used as outlined by Snijders and Bosker (1999) and Long (1997). This alternative method is necessary given the use of the Bernoulli model, where the dependent variable is a binary outcome. The equation for the ICC is the following:

$$p = \frac{\tau_{00}}{\tau_{00} + \frac{\pi^2}{3}}$$

Table 4. One Way ANOVA and Intraclass Correlation

Random Effect	Standard Deviation	Variance Component	d.f.	χ^2	p-value	ICC
State rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers	0.29754	0.08853	50	225.49859	<0.001	2.62%

The level-2 variance value, known as τ_{00} , for the racial identity dependent variable, has a value of 0.089, with a statistically significant chi-sq value of 225.499. This means that about 3 percent of the variance in racial identity occurs at level-2, i.e., at the level of the state; thus, a multilevel analysis of racial identity is statistically appropriate.

The multilevel model allows us to examine the direct effects of contextual Taiwanese identification on racial identity and the direct effects of the individual-level variables. Thus we will be able to address with the multilevel model the extent to which socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the individuals themselves, as well as the contextual characteristic of the state, influence the likelihood of the individual racially identifying as Taiwanese or Chinese.

The multilevel model employed is a hierarchical generalized linear model (HGLM). I have referred to this model earlier as a multilevel logit model. Raudenbush and Bryk (2002) note that HGLMs provide a modeling framework for multilevel data with nonlinear structural models and nonnormally distributed errors. As discussed previously, my dependent variable is binary taking on a value of zero (racially identifying as Chinese) or 1 (racially identifying as Taiwanese). Binary outcomes are nonnormal distributions and are known as Bernoulli distributions. Thus my model is a hierarchical generalized linear model with two levels for binary outcomes. Furthermore, my multilevel model only tests the direct effects of the level-2 variable, the state rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers, on racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. Cross-level interactions, the indirect effects of the state rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers on the slopes of the individual level variables on racial identity, are not included as most cross-level interactions between the level two and level one variables on racial identity do not seem relevant theoretically.

Structural Model at Level-1

The level-1 structural model has sixteen level-1 independent variables. The variables are uncentered given that all of the independent variables are dummy variables and therefore non-continuous. The tolerances for these sixteen variables have been examined, and they range from .55 to .97, with an average tolerance of .71; thus there is no serious multicollinearity among these sixteen level-1 independent variables. The basic level-1 equation is as follows:

$$\text{Prob}(RACEID_{ij}=1|\beta_j) = \phi_{ij}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \eta_{ij} = \log[\phi_{ij}/(1 - \phi_{ij})] = & \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}*(AGE1_{ij}) + \beta_{2j}*(AGE2_{ij}) + \beta_{3j}*(AGE4_{ij}) + \\ & \beta_{4j}*(AGE5_{ij}) + \beta_{5j}*(AGE6_{ij}) + \beta_{6j}*(ENGONLY_{ij}) + \beta_{7j}*(WELL_{ij}) + \\ & \beta_{8j}*(POV1_{ij}) + \beta_{9j}*(POV2_{ij}) + \beta_{10j}*(POV3_{ij}) + \beta_{11j}*(LOW_{ij}) + \\ & \beta_{12j}*(HIGH_{ij}) + \beta_{13j}*(MC1_{ij}) + \beta_{14j}*(MC2_{ij}) + \beta_{15j}*(MC3_{ij}) + \\ & \beta_{16j}*(FEMALE_{ij}) + r_{ij} \end{aligned}$$

where:

i and j refer to the i^{th} individual in the j^{th} state;

β_{0j} is the intercept in the j^{th} state;

β_{1j} through β_{16j} are the sixteen slopes for the Age, English language proficiency,

Poverty, Education, Immigrant Cohort and Sex variables, in the j^{th} state;

and

r_{ij} is the error term for the i^{th} individual in the j^{th} state.

Note that the intercept and the sixteen slopes have been subscripted with j . Thus the seventeen effects, β_{0j} and β_{1j} through β_{16j} , are permitted to vary across all the states. They are treated as random.

Structural Model at Level-2

At level-2, or the state-based equation, I use the state rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers to predict Taiwanese racial identity. The structural model at level-2 is as follows:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}*(T_RATE_j) + u_{0j}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + u_{1j}$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + u_{2j}$$

$$\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30} + u_{3j}$$

$$\beta_{4j} = \gamma_{40} + u_{4j}$$

$$\beta_{5j} = \gamma_{50} + u_{5j}$$

$$\beta_{6j} = \gamma_{60} + u_{6j}$$

$$\beta_{7j} = \gamma_{70} + u_{7j}$$

$$\beta_{8j} = \gamma_{80} + u_{8j}$$

$$\beta_{9j} = \gamma_{90} + u_{9j}$$

$$\beta_{10j} = \gamma_{100} + u_{10j}$$

$$\beta_{11j} = \gamma_{110} + u_{11j}$$

$$\beta_{12j} = \gamma_{120} + u_{12j}$$

$$\beta_{13j} = \gamma_{130} + u_{13j}$$

$$\beta_{14j} = \gamma_{140} + u_{14j}$$

$$\beta_{15j} = \gamma_{150} + u_{15j}$$

$$\beta_{16j} = \gamma_{160} + u_{16j}$$

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the data for both the descriptive analyses and the multilevel model of racial identity among Taiwanese immigrants; the basic data source is the 5% IPUMS samples from various U.S. censuses. The descriptive data of Taiwanese immigrant racial identity over time come from the 1980, 1990 and 2000 5% IPUMS samples. The multilevel model of racial identity uses cross-sectional data only from the 2000 5% IPUMS sample.

The descriptive analyses of Taiwanese immigrant racial identity over time focus on the distribution of individuals racially identifying as Chinese, Taiwanese, or both Chinese and Taiwanese. In addition I examine the extent to which Taiwanese immigrants are choosing federal standardized racial categories versus identifying and writing-in other non-standard racial categories.

In the multilevel model of racial identity I look at the direct effects of the individual level variables (immigrant cohort periods, educational attainment, English language proficiency, one's economic status or poverty level, and age group) on racial identity as well as the direct effect of the contextual level variable, the state rate of Taiwanese racial identifiers.

In the next chapter, I will present the results of the descriptive accounting of Taiwanese immigrant racial identity from 1980 to 2000. The results from the multilevel regression equation will also be presented. I will especially be concerned with the

significance of the relationships between the direct effects of the level-1 and level-2 variables on the outcome of racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSES

In this chapter I present my two part analysis of racial identity among Taiwanese immigrants in the United States: 1) a descriptive accounting of Taiwanese racial identification in the United States from 1980 to 2000 and 2) a multilevel model of racial identity examining the extent to which socioeconomic and demographic variables are associated with racial identity. As discussed previously in the data and methodology chapter, all the data used here refer to individuals who were born in Taiwan, were ages 21 or older at the time of the census, and who trace their ancestry to some part of China or Taiwan, identified their ancestry as Asian or other Asian, or did not report an ancestry at all.

Part one begins by outlining the racial identities Taiwanese immigrants chose in the 1980, 1990, and 2000 census. Part two presents the descriptive data for the dependent variable, and the level-1 and level-2 independent variables. Following the descriptive statistics, I present the findings from the multilevel binomial logistic regression predicting the extent to which socioeconomic and demographic variables are related to a person identifying as "Taiwanese" compared to "Chinese."

Part I: Describing Racial Identities over Time

In this section I describe how Taiwanese immigrants racially identified themselves in the 1980, 1990 and 2000 censuses. I show whether they are racially identifying as Chinese, Taiwanese, or both Chinese and Taiwanese. In addition I discuss

whether they are racially identifying with one of the federal standardized racial categories other than Chinese, (White, Black, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian Indian, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan), if they are identifying with other non-standard races besides Taiwanese, and if they are identifying in a multiracial context (for the 2000 census) besides the combined Chinese and Taiwanese identity. Lastly, I present results of the chi-squared tests, analyzing if Chinese racial identities compared to non-Chinese racial identities are significantly different across the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses.

1980 Census

The sample of Taiwanese immigrants tabulated by age and ancestry in the 1980 census consists of 2,732 individuals. There were a total of eight racial categories in which Taiwanese immigrants identified, all of which are federally standardized racial categories, except for the “other race, n.e.c. category.” The racial categories presented in ascending order of frequency are: Chinese, White, other race, n.e.c., Japanese, Black or Negro, Asian Indian, Hawaiian, and Vietnamese. The majority of Taiwanese immigrants, 98.02 percent (N=2,728), identified with the Chinese racial category. The remaining 1.44 (N=39) percent identified with other standard racial categories besides Chinese and 0.54 percent (N=15) identified as other race, n.e.c., falling under the other non-standard single race category. Figure 2 presents the frequency distribution of racial identities.

1990 Census

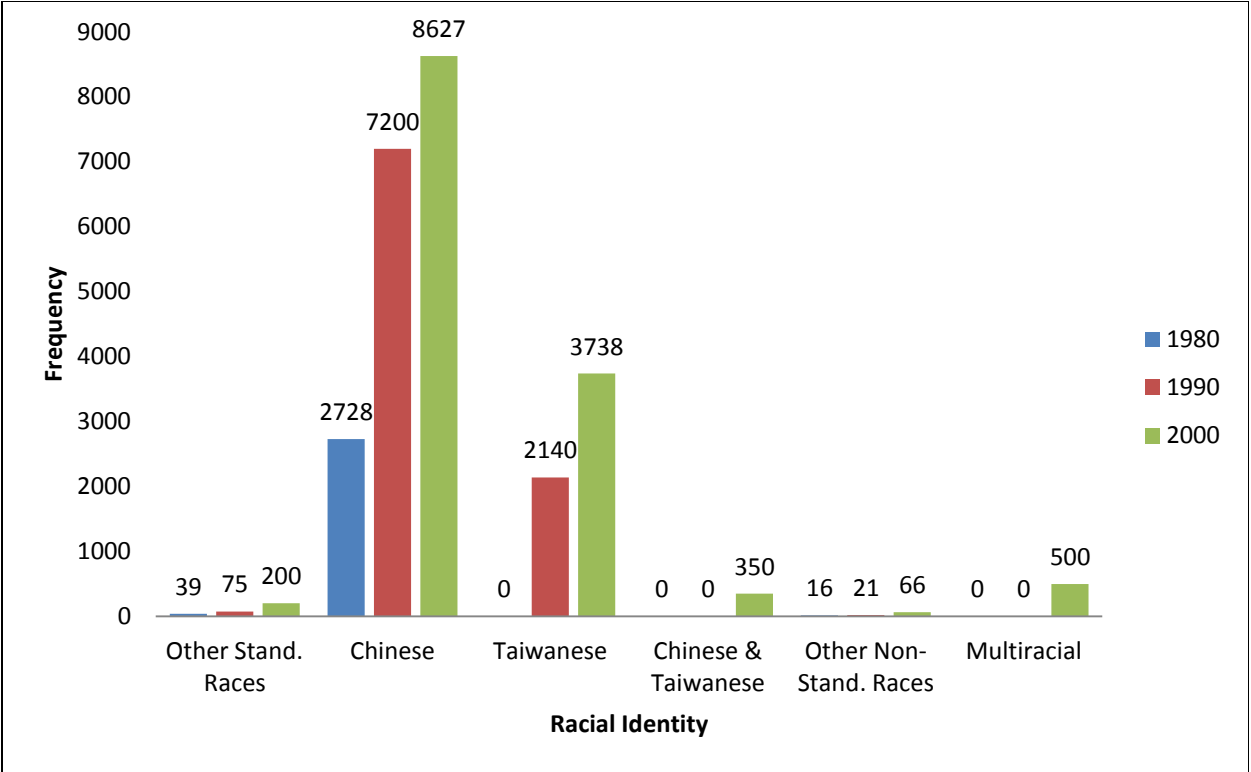
In the 1990 census there were 9,440 Taiwanese immigrants tabulated; they identified in 14 racial categories with 8 of them being federal standardized racial categories (Chinese, White, Black/Negro, Aleut, Japanese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese) ; the remaining 4 were non-standardized racial categories (Taiwanese, Thai, Indonesian, other Asian n.e.c., and Pacific Islander, n.s.). I show in Figure 2 that similar to the findings in 1980, in 1990 Chinese is the most frequent racial identity chosen by Taiwanese immigrants; 76.27 percent (N=7,200) individuals identified as Chinese. The second most popular racial category is Taiwanese, 22.67 percent. Those who racially identified with standard racial categories besides Chinese made up only 0.84 percent of the sample and merely 0.22 percent identified with non-standard racial categories besides Taiwanese.

2000 Census

There are a total of 13,481 Taiwanese immigrants in my sample from the 2000 census. Given that this census was the first time that individuals were allowed to racially identify with more than one category, there are 48 different racial categories my sample of immigrants identified with. Twenty of the racial categories were single race and the remaining twenty-eight were multiracial. Of the twenty single race categories, nine are federal standardized racial categories; in ascending order of frequency they are: Chinese, White, Asian Indian, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Black or Negro, and Guamanian/Chamorro. As was the situation in the 1980 and 1990 censuses, Chinese is the racial category with the highest frequency in 2000, at almost 64 percent. Following

Chinese, the second most popular racial category is Taiwanese. Taiwanese immigrants who racially identified with standard racial categories other than Chinese comprises just under 1.5 percent of the sample. These distributions are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Taiwanese Immigrant Racial Identities in the 1980, 1990, and 2000 U.S. Censuses



N (1980) = 2,732
N (1990) = 9,440
N (2000) = 13,481

Chi-squared Test of Racial Identity over Time

Given that in each census year from 1980 to 2000, there were Taiwanese immigrants who racially identified as Chinese, I now test whether Chinese racial identity

compared to non-Chinese racial identities are significantly different over time. As discussed in the previous chapter, non-Chinese racial identities include all federal standard racial identities that are not listed as Chinese, the writing in of Taiwanese, both Chinese and Taiwanese, and all other non-standard racial identities that Taiwanese immigrants identified with in each census year. Table 5 is a contingency table of Taiwanese immigrant racial identity categorized as Chinese versus Non-Chinese across the three census years.

In the census year of 1980, 98.02 percent of the sample of Taiwanese immigrants identified as Chinese, in 1990, it was 76.27 percent, and in 2000, 63.99 percent. Looking at non-Chinese racial identities across the census years, in 1980, 1.98 percent of the sample identified with non-Chinese racial categories, in 1990, 23.73 percent, and in 2000, 36.01 percent. The percentage of Taiwanese immigrants racially identifying as Chinese decreased between 1980 and 2000. The percentage of Non-Chinese racial identities on the other hand, increased over the period. The probability associated with the chi square statistic of 1,500 is less than .001 indicating that racial identity across the three census years is significantly different.

Table 5. Cross Tabulations of Taiwanese Immigrant Racial Identity by Census Year: Chinese versus Non-Chinese Racial Identities

Census Year	Racial Identity		
	Chinese	Non-Chinese	Total
1980	98.02 (2,728)	1.98 (55)	100.00 (2,783)
1990	76.27 (7,200)	23.73 (2,240)	100.00 (9,440)
2000	63.99 (8,627)	36.01 (4,854)	100.00 (13,481)
Total	72.19 (18,555)	27.81 (7,149)	100.00 (25,704)

Chi Square = 1,500

*** p<.001

Note: Numbers in parentheses are frequencies

Part II: Multilevel Model of Racial Identity

Descriptive Statistics

I now present the descriptive data for the dependent variable and the level-1 and level-2 independent variables for the multilevel binomial logistic regression model of racial identity (see Table 6). Among the 12,365 Taiwanese immigrants in the sample, 30 percent racially identified as Taiwanese, opting to write-in a non-standard racial category. The remaining 70 percent racially identified as Chinese, one of the federal standardized racial categories available in the U.S. census.

Examining the distribution of the Taiwanese foreign born population in the 2000 census by the year they immigrated to the United States, I show that the majority arrived in the 1980s. The earliest immigrant cohort entered the country prior to 1970; they represent 5 percent of my sample. Between 1970 and 1979, 23 percent entered the U.S., 41 percent between 1980 and 1989, and 30 percent between 1990 and 2000.

The majority of the Taiwanese foreign born population lives above the poverty line. As of the year 2000, only 14 percent of the Taiwanese foreign born population lived in poverty.

The Taiwanese foreign born population is highly educated. The data on educational attainment indicate that 6 percent of the sample completed less than high school, 29 percent received a high school diploma or equivalent, and 65 percent received a bachelor's degree or higher.

English proficiency among the Taiwanese foreign born population in 2000 was fairly high. A reported 77 percent of the sample spoke English very well or well, 6 percent reported only speaking English at home, and 18 percent reported either not being able to speak English well or not being able to speak English at all.

With regard to age, the median age of my sample population is 41. Over half (57 percent) of the Taiwanese immigrants in my sample are female.

My level-2 (state-level) independent variable is the rate per 1,000 population of persons identifying as Taiwanese; the average across the states is 0.22. This means that across the 51 states, on average, 0.22 individuals racially identify as Taiwanese per 1,000 residents.

Table 6. Descriptive data for the dependent variables and level-1 and level-2 independent variables.

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent variable^a				
Racial Identity (Taiwanese = 1)	0.30	0.46	0	1
Level-1 independent variables^a				
<i>Immigrant Cohort</i>				
Immigrated before 1970 = 1	0.05	0.22	0	1
Immigrated 1970-1979 = 1	0.23	0.42	0	1
Immigrated 1980-1989 = 1	0.41	0.49	0	1
Immigrated 1990-2000 = 1	0.30	0.46	0	1
<i>Poverty</i>				
Below poverty line = 1	0.14	0.34	0	1
1-4 times poverty line = 1	0.30	0.46	0	1
4-5 times poverty line = 1	0.11	0.31	0	1
5+ times poverty line = 1	0.45	0.50	0	1
<i>Educational Attainment</i>				
Less HS (<high school = 1)	0.06	0.23	0	1
HS (high school and/or some college = 1)	0.29	0.46	0	1
College (\geq college degree = 1)	0.65	0.48	0	1
<i>English Proficiency</i>				
English only (Yes = 1)	0.06	0.23	0	1
Well (very well/well = 1)	0.77	0.42	0	1
Not Well (not well/no English = 1)	0.18	0.38	0	1
<i>Age</i>				
21-24 = 1	0.09	0.28	0	1
25-34 = 1	0.23	0.42	0	1
35-44 = 1	0.29	0.45	0	1
45-54 = 1	0.26	0.44	0	1
55-64 = 1	0.08	0.26	0	1
65+ = 1	0.04	0.20	0	1
<i>Gender</i> (Female = 1)	0.57	0.50	0	1
Level-2 Independent Variable^b				
Taiwanese State Rate	0.22	0.29	0	1.86

^aN = 12,365 individuals

^bN = 51 states

Regression Coefficients

I now report on the results of my multilevel binomial logistic regression of racial identity. The results are shown in Table 7. The goal in this analysis is to measure the effect that the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state has on the odds of a Taiwanese immigrant racially identifying as Taiwanese over Chinese. In the previous chapter I provided the results of an ANOVA test, which showed that about 3 percent of the variance in racial identity, the dependent variable, occurs between states rather than within. The fact that the level-2 variance value was statistically significant justifies my multilevel analysis.

The first set of results in Table 7 shows the direct effect of the level-2 variable, the Taiwanese state rate, on racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. The odds ratio for the Taiwanese state rate (γ_{01}) is 1.21 and is statistically significant. This value indicates that the racial composition of the state has a statistically significant effect on the racial identification of Taiwanese immigrants. A one unit increase in the Taiwanese state rate, the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state, results in a 21 percent increase in the odds of a Taiwanese immigrant racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to racially identifying as Chinese. This finding suggests that context matters; that is, the Taiwanese racial composition of the state has an effect on the racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants.

I now discuss the direct effects of my level-1 (personal) X variables on the outcome of racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese.

Being in the youngest age group, 21-24 years, and being in the older age group, 65+, compared to being in the 25-34 age group, increases the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. This is the pattern of the age effects that I hypothesized in an earlier chapter of this thesis. Additionally being in the 45-54 and 55-64 age groups compared to being in the 25-34 age group increases the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. The English proficiency of Taiwanese immigrants is also significantly related to the dependent variable. Being able to speak English “very well” or “well,” compared to speaking English “not well” or “not at all,” increases the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese increase by 2.71 percent. These findings indicate that greater English proficiency leads to increased odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. This result is opposite to that predicted.

With regard to the effect of economic status on racial identity, my analyses indicate that Taiwanese immigrants with high economic statuses, living well above the poverty line, have increased odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese.

The direct effects of educational attainment on racial identity are significant. Taiwanese immigrants who have completed a bachelor’s degree or attained higher educational levels compared to those who have a “high school diploma and some college completed” have increased odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese by 17 percent.

The time period in which Taiwanese immigrants entered the U.S. also has a significant direct effect on racial identity. My findings suggest that the latest immigrant cohort of 1990 to 2000 have greater odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese compared

to earlier cohorts except for the cohort arriving prior to 1970. Finally, if an immigrant is a female, she is less likely to identify as Taiwanese than if she were not female.

Table 7. Multilevel Binomial Results for Racial Identity of Taiwanese Immigrants: Taiwanese versus Chinese Racial Identity

Variable	Coefficient	Odds Ratio	% Change	t-ratio
Intercept, γ_{00}	-1.10*	0.33	-67	-11.84
Taiwanese State Rate, γ_{01}	0.19*	1.21	21	8.58
<i>Age</i>				
25-34 (ref)				
21-24, γ_{10}	0.17*	1.19	19	2.35
35-44, γ_{20}	0.08	1.09	9	0.96
45-54, γ_{30}	0.45*	1.57	57	8.16
55-64, γ_{40}	1.40*	4.05	305	14.65
65+, γ_{50}	1.59*	4.91	391	9.62
<i>English Proficiency</i>				
Not Well (ref)				
English only, γ_{60}	-0.08	0.92	-8	-0.67
Well, γ_{70}	0.20*	1.22	22	2.71
<i>Poverty</i>				
5+ times poverty line (ref)				
Below poverty line, γ_{80}	0.13	1.14	14	0.98
1-4 times poverty line, γ_{90}	-0.18*	0.84	-16	-2.28
4-5 times poverty line, γ_{100}	-0.51*	0.60	-40	-4.36
<i>Educational Attainment</i>				
HS and/or some college (ref)				
Less than high school, γ_{110}	0.08	1.08	8	0.50
College degree and/or higher, γ_{120}	0.16*	1.17	17	3.02
<i>Immigrant Cohort</i>				
Immigrated 1990-2000 (ref)				
Immigrated before 1970, γ_{130}	-0.26	0.77	-23	-1.55
Immigrated 1970-1979, γ_{140}	-0.50*	0.61	-39	-5.46
Immigrated 1980-1989, γ_{150}	-0.19*	0.82	-18	-3.08
<i>Gender</i>				
Female, γ_{160}	-0.12*	0.89	-11	-4.85

*Statistically significant at <.05

Summary

My analyses of Taiwanese immigrant racial identities over time reveal that Taiwanese immigrants have experienced a gradual shift in racial identity from Chinese to Taiwanese or a biracial identity of both Chinese and Taiwanese. In the 1980 census, an overwhelming majority of Taiwanese immigrants, 98.02 percent, identified with the federal standardized category of Chinese. In the 1990 census, for the first time Taiwanese immigrants chose to write-in the non-standard racial identity of Taiwanese. There were 22.67 percent of Taiwanese immigrants who racially identified as Taiwanese and 76.27 percent identified as Chinese. In the 2000 census, the three major racial identities chosen were Chinese (64%), Taiwanese (28%), and both Chinese and Taiwanese (3%).. In addition, I showed that racial identity across the 1980, 1990, and 2000 is significantly different. A discussion of these patterns and their relationship to a rising Taiwanese national identity will be discussed in the next chapter.

Findings from the multilevel model of racial identity suggested that Taiwanese immigrants with high socioeconomic statuses are more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. Those having the highest economic status, i.e., living at five times or above the poverty line, had the highest educational attainment, and greater English proficiency had greater odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to those living in lower socioeconomic statuses. There were also differences in the results among the immigrant cohorts according to when they came to the U.S., and the age groups.

My findings with regard to the direct effect of the level-2 variable, the state-level Taiwanese identification, on the outcome showed that the Taiwanese state rate had a direct effect. The racial composition of the state in which a Taiwanese immigrant lives appears to be an important factor determining how Taiwanese immigrants racially identify themselves. These findings and their implications will be discussed further in the next and final chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis I considered several questions pertaining to immigrants from Taiwan to the United States. The questions that I addressed were 1) How do Taiwanese immigrants to the United States identify in the U.S. Census of Population with the racial categories presented to them?, 2) Are Taiwanese immigrants racially identifying with standard racial categories such as “Chinese,” or are they choosing the “some other race” category and choosing to write-in racial categories they may feel are more appropriate to them, such as “Taiwanese” or “Chinese and Taiwanese?”, 3) Do Taiwanese immigrants to the United States show a consistent pattern of racial identification between 1980 and 2000, that is similar to the shift in national identity that occurred in Taiwan and was shown by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University (Wu 2007)?, and 4) How do demographic and socioeconomic characteristics influence the likelihood of Taiwanese immigrants racially identifying as Taiwanese versus identifying as Chinese?

In this chapter, I will review the findings from my descriptive accounting of Taiwanese immigrant racial identity over time and whether more immigrants are choosing standard racial categories, like Chinese, and the possible implications of these findings. In addition I will discuss whether and how the pattern of racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants over time corresponds with the rise in an independent Taiwanese national identity and a decline in a Chinese national identity that occurred in Taiwan. Also, I will review the findings of the statistical tests of my hypotheses dealing with

micro and macro factors influencing the immigrants' racial identity behavior; I will also entertain some of the implications of these findings from the regression analysis.

Furthermore, I compare the findings of my multilevel analyses with those of Yu and Chiang's (2009) single-level logistic regression analysis of Taiwanese identity.

Following the discussion of the implications of my findings, I will consider the limitations of my analyses and my plans for future research.

Findings and Implications

Part I: Racial Identity of Taiwanese Immigrants from 1980-2000

Standard or Non-Standard Racial Identities

A major issue I addressed in this thesis was whether Taiwanese immigrants tend to racially identify with standard racial categories such as "Chinese" or if they choose non-standard racial identities by opting to write-in racial categories they feel to be more appropriate, such as "Taiwanese" or "Chinese and Taiwanese." In the 1980 census the majority of Taiwanese immigrants in the sample identified with federally standard racial categories. The majority, 98 percent identified as Chinese, one of the federal standard racial categories available on the census. In the 1990 census, the majority of Taiwanese immigrants also identified with federal standardized racial categories, but the percentage doing so dropped; in 1990, 76 percent identified as Chinese, and almost one-quarter identified with non-standard racial categories. In the 2000 census, about 64 percent identified as Chinese and the percentage of people who identified with non-standard racial categories had definitely increased. Most Taiwanese immigrants who identified with non-standard racial categories wrote-in Taiwanese, 28 percent of the sample,

another 3 percent identified as both Chinese and Taiwanese and about 4 percent identified with other non-standard racial categories.

In summary, in each census year the majority of Taiwanese immigrants racially identified with the federal standard racial category of Chinese. But in 1990 and 2000 larger percentages racially identified with non-standard racial categories, mostly a Taiwanese racial identity. It is understandable that the majority of Taiwanese immigrants racially identify as Chinese given that Taiwan has historically been linked to, and more recently recognized as a part of, China under the one-China policy. Indeed many native-born Taiwanese have ancestors who migrated to Taiwan from mainland China. Furthermore, the Chinese racial category has been recognized in the U.S. as a federal standard racial classification since its first appearance nationwide on the 1870 decennial census question on race. The U.S. Census Bureau, since its inception, has been an institution that has shaped the way race has come to be understood in the United States. As the primary government institution involved in collecting and reporting racial statistics, it helps to create, maintain and advance racial discourse, including the racial discourse on who is Chinese.

Furthermore, it has been argued by scholars such as Lee (1993) and Prewitt (2013) that the census racial classifications have transformed many ethnic groups into a few pan-ethnic racial groups. It could be argued that the Chinese racial category works as a pan-ethnic racial group. The Chinese immigrant population includes people who differ in terms of national origins, language, political ideologies and socioeconomic background. It is possible that Taiwanese immigrants who racially identify as Chinese

on the census, may not racially identify themselves in this manner if they had other options readily available. Instead they may be identifying as Chinese because they are more or less accepting of the way that the U.S. racially classifies them. While my analyses here cannot determine whether those who racially identify as Chinese might racially identify as Taiwanese or some other race if they had the option to do so, it is important to understand that Chinese racial classification often encompasses people from diverse backgrounds and contexts, such as Taiwanese immigrants, and treated as a pan-racial group could possibly be hiding Taiwanese immigrants' personal racial identity.

Even though the majority of Taiwanese immigrants in the 1980, 1990 and 2000 census racially identify as Chinese, clearly there are growing numbers of Taiwanese immigrants who do not find any of the federal standard racial categories appropriate and instead choose to write-in the racial identity of Taiwanese. About a quarter of the Taiwanese immigrant sample racially identified as Taiwanese in both the 1990 and 2000 census. These findings confirm much of the literature concerning racial and ethnic identity among immigrants. Scholars (Higham 1984; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Lee and Tafoya 2006) have noted that immigrants often challenge dominant ethnic/racial understandings by not racially identifying with U.S. census standard racial categories. Furthermore, one of the most important ways that immigrants may challenge the way race is measured in the United States is by racially identifying themselves in terms of their national origins (Rodriguez 2000; Sears et al. 2003; Kusow 2006; Lien 2008). Taiwanese immigrants who chose to write-in "Taiwanese" or to write in the biracial identity of "Chinese and Taiwanese," are challenging U.S. census categories and opting

to identify ethno-nationally. Taiwanese immigrants are thus one of the numerous immigrant groups for which the breadth of census racial categories is not always relevant.

Taiwanese Immigrant Racial Identity over Time and National Identity Trends in Taiwan

Examining Chinese and non-Chinese racial identities over time, it becomes clear that Chinese racial identities have decreased and non-Chinese racial identities have increased between the conduct of the 1980 census and the 2000 census. Taiwanese immigrants who identified as Chinese made up 98 percent of the sample in 1980, 76 percent in 1990, and 64 percent in 2000. Non-Chinese racial identities thus increased from about 2 percent to 24 percent to 36 percent in the same period of time. It is important to remember the majority of the non-Chinese racial identities in 1990 and 2000 are made up of written-in Taiwanese racial identities, and in 2000 the biracial Chinese and Taiwanese identities. Specifically, my examination of the evolution of Taiwanese as a racial identity from 1980 to 2000, shows that there were no individuals who identified as Taiwanese in 1980, about 23 percent in 1990 and 28 percent in 2000. The biracial identity of Chinese and Taiwanese was only possible in the 2000 census and comprised about 3 percent of the sample. Furthermore, the probability associated with the chi square statistic for the Chinese versus non-Chinese racial identities across the three time periods was shown to be statistically significant. Hence, I may conclude that changes in racial identity among Taiwanese immigrants are significantly different.

These findings of declining Chinese racial identity and increasing non-Chinese racial identities between 1980 and 2000 seem to mimic the pattern of an increase in Taiwanese national identity and a decline in Chinese national identity in Taiwan, as found by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University. The study was conducted by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan; it found that from 1992 to 2006, people in Taiwan who identified themselves as “Chinese only” decreased from 26.2% to 6.4%. The percentage of people who considered themselves as “both Taiwanese and Chinese” grew from 39.1% to 50.9%; and those who considered themselves as “Taiwanese only” increased from 17.3% to 44.1% (Wu, 2007). These findings from Taiwan would appear to indicate that since the early 1990s there has been a rise in an independent Taiwanese national identity and a decline in a Chinese national identity.

It is interesting to note that the decline in Chinese national identity and increase in Taiwanese national identity occurring in Taiwan from 1992 to 2006 corresponds with declining Chinese racial identity and increasing non-Chinese racial identity among Taiwanese immigrants in the United States. Scholars in Taiwan (Hsieh 2005; Li 2003) have studied this shift in national identity and its relationship to Taiwan people's ethnic identity. Their research has suggested that national identity and ethnicity are interrelated among people in Taiwan. Similarly, my findings of racial identity among Taiwanese immigrants to the United States suggest that there might be an overlap between national identity and racial identity for Taiwanese people in the United States. However, more research is needed in order to assess how national identity might directly influence racial

identity. Studies focusing on the transnational nature of ideas of nationalism in Taiwan and in the United States might offer an explanation for this link between national identity and racial identity for Taiwanese immigrants living in the United States.

Part II: Multilevel Model Hypotheses Tests and Implications

I will now review the results of the tests of my hypotheses for my multilevel statistical model of racial identity. I will also discuss why hypotheses for my level-1 and level-2 variables may or may not have been supported.

The first hypothesis regarding the relationship between age and racial identity is supported by the findings. I hypothesized that Taiwanese immigrants will be more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese if they are in the youngest age group or in the older age groups. I found that being in the youngest age group, 21-24 years, and being in the older age groups 55-64 and 65 years and older, compared to being in the middle age groups, increased the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. Most of the immigrants in my sample arrived to the U.S. between the years of 1980 and 2000. I argued that if the majority of the older age groups immigrated from 1980 to 2000, they would have most likely experienced a more repressive Kuomintang (KMT) government while they were living in Taiwan prior to the termination of martial law in 1987 and thus be more inclined to racially identify as Taiwanese. In addition, I argued that the youngest age group will be more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese, compared to the middle age group, due to influences from older familial relations or their experiencing rising Taiwanese nationalism in the 1990s. These findings that both the youngest and older age group are more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese suggest that belonging to specific

birth cohorts, i.e., generations, provides very unique experiences that have effects on racial identity and on numerous other matters of social life in general (Carlson 2008).

The second hypothesis concerning the relationship between economic statuses on racial identity is partially supported. I hypothesized that persons with both very high and very low economic statuses, compared to those in the middle, would have higher odds of identifying as Taiwanese over Chinese. I found only that Taiwanese immigrants with high economic status, living well above the poverty line, have increased odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. The literature concerning assimilation, ethnic identification and immigrant groups (Bean, Stevens, and Wierzbicki 2003) has found that ethnic identification appears strongest among the lowest and highest social classes of immigrant groups. Among Taiwanese immigrants in my sample Taiwanese racial identification seemed to be strongest only among those with the highest economic status. Brown and Bean (2006) have noted that strong racial identification can result from three mechanisms: reactive, selective, and symbolic assimilation. They discussed that selective and symbolic assimilation tends to occur among immigrants with better resources and socioeconomic prospects. Perhaps my findings suggest that choosing a Taiwanese racial identity over a Chinese identity has much to do with immigrants having high economic statuses and relying on ethnic networks and institutions who have great resources and can influence a Taiwanese identity.

Regarding the relationship between educational attainment and racial identity, I hypothesized that both lowly and highly educated Taiwanese immigrants, compared to those in the middle, will tend to racially identify as Taiwanese over Chinese. My

hypothesis was partially supported; having the highest educational attainment compared to the middle educational attainment was shown to increase the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. This suggests that having high socioeconomic status is positively related to racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. Similar to the discussion of economic status on racial identity, perhaps selective or symbolic assimilation may be at work among Taiwanese immigrants propensity to racially identify as Taiwanese.

Regarding the relationship between English proficiency and Taiwanese identity, my findings indicated that greater English proficiency seemed to lead to increased odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. I hypothesized that greater English proficiency would lead to a decrease in racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. The results were opposite of what I predicted. Yu and Chiang (2009) argued that the higher the English proficiency the greater Taiwanese immigrants would be involved with American society creating greater social distance between them and the country of origin. Greater English proficiency in my analyses was shown to lead to greater odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese compared to Chinese. Once again we see that having high socioeconomic status, in this case, in the form of greater English proficiency, leads to greater odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese and perhaps more of an argument for selective assimilation into a Taiwanese identity.

Regarding the relationship between immigrant cohort periods and racial identity, I hypothesized that the earliest and latest immigrant cohort periods would be more likely to racially identify as Taiwanese. My hypothesis was partially supported; I found that

those in earlier immigrant cohort periods were less likely to racially identify as Taiwanese compared to those in the latest, 1990-2000, immigrant cohort period. This finding suggests that the unique historical experiences associated with year of arrival to the U.S. and departure from the home country may well have an effect on racial identity. Recently arrived Taiwanese immigrants are more likely to be influenced by rising nationalism in Taiwan than those who arrived earlier. My findings concerning immigrant cohort periods seems to support the idea that perhaps experiencing rising nationalism in Taiwan in the 1990s increases the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese.

My hypothesis for the contextual level variable (level-2) was that the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state increases, on average, the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. My findings support this hypothesis as well as the idea that context in the form of racial composition of the state influences racial identity. Scholars such as Xie and Goyette (1997) and Qian (2004) also found significant effects of residential location on racial identity. While their studies looked at lower levels of geographic location, such as neighborhood racial composition, my findings suggest that even the composition of larger geographic locations, e.g. states, can also have an impact on racial identity.

My Multilevel Model Findings Compared to Those of Yu and Chiang (2009)

One of the aims of my thesis was to improve upon Yu and Chiang's (2009) single-level logistic model of racial identity. I endeavored to do so by estimating a multilevel model that would be using a level-2 context variable in a more statistically correct method. In order to compare my findings to those of Yu and Chiang (2009), I

used similar level-1 independent variables as they did in their study. In this section I will describe how my findings are consistent with, and different from, those of Yu and Chiang (2009).

My findings regarding the direct effects of the level-1 variables of age groups, immigrant cohort periods, educational attainment, and economic status all work in the same direction as Yu and Chiang's (2009) variables. English proficiency however, in my analysis, did not work in the same way as in Yu and Chiang's (2009) study. They found that the greater the English proficiency, the less likely that a Taiwanese immigrant would identify as Taiwanese. I found that greater English proficiency leads to greater odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. While my findings work in the opposite direction of my hypothesis for English language proficiency, it does seem to follow the pattern of greater socioeconomic status leading to increased odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese. Having greater English language proficiency would no doubt increase an immigrant's educational attainment and economic status. However, further investigation as to why English language proficiency behaved in my thesis in the opposite direction as in Yu and Chiang's (2009) needs to be completed.

Yu and Chiang (2009) use multiple contextual level variables in their study, namely, the percent of mainland Chinese immigrants in the PUMA, and the percent of Taiwan-born immigrants in the PUMA. They disaggregated these contexts down to the level of their individuals, which is a statistically inappropriate method. They found that the percent of mainland Chinese immigrants in the PUMA has a negative effect on racially identifying as Taiwanese, and that the percent Taiwan-born immigrants in the

PUMA has a positive effect. My one contextual level variable was the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state; I also found that my contextual level variable has a positive and significant effect on racially identifying as Taiwanese. But as I just noted, the statistical problem with Yu and Chiang's (2009) use of contextual variables is that they disaggregated them down to the level of the individual. This is problematic because it treats Taiwanese born immigrants who are from the same PUMA as having the same values on percent Taiwan-born immigrants. The assumption of independence of observations can then not be met because Taiwanese-born immigrants and mainland Chinese immigrants are not randomly assigned to PUMAs. While Yu and Chiang (2009) and I get the same results, that context matters, my model is more statistically correct than their model. My multilevel model can adjust the standard errors of the relationship between the individual level factors and the dependent variable of individuals who are nested in higher order units, at the state-level.

Limitations

While my thesis has made many contributions to the literature on Asian immigrant racial identity, especially with regards to the emergence of "other" non-standard racial identities, the link between national identity and racial identity, and an understanding of how the racial composition of residential location at the state level influences racial identity, there are a number of limitations.

One of the limitations is that the racial data I used in my descriptive analyses and in my multilevel model of racial identity are from census data. Census data survey households and usually involves one individual in the household completing the

questionnaire. I assumed in this thesis that the racial identity of each Taiwanese immigrant in the sample was chosen by that individual; however I cannot accurately make this assumption as census data largely depend on who fills out the questionnaire. In addition, I cannot guarantee that the person who filled out the questionnaire for the household accurately reflected each individual's racial preference. Nonetheless, the data drawn from U.S. federal censuses represent the most complete public data source with which to study small groups like Taiwanese immigrants.

Another limitation of this thesis is that it is a cross-sectional analysis of racial identity. Racial formation theory argues that race should be understood as something that is dynamic and fluid (Omi and Winant 1994). In my analyses I cannot take into account how racial identity may change in relation to context and time. I am only able to look at how Taiwanese immigrants racially identified themselves in the year 2000 and in the specific state in which they lived. In the case of immigrants, racial identity will often change in relation to the duration of residence in the United States. I tried to account for this factor by examining immigrant cohort periods, however being able to follow the same Taiwanese immigrants over time would allow for a more nuanced approach to racial identity over time. Following the same Taiwanese immigrants over time would require longitudinal data.

In addition my contextual level variable is a state level variable measuring the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state. This is a large geographic area that does not necessarily put a Taiwanese immigrant's spatial surroundings into the proper perspective. Measuring the composition of smaller geographies such as the county may

allow me to better get at neighborhood characteristics. While the racial composition of the state proved to be a significant predictor of Taiwanese racial identity, I am really not able to draw out any more detailed implications of contextual effects; my spatial context was too large. However, smaller levels of geography such as the county-level or even the PUMA level used by Yu and Chiang (2009) are problematic to use in analyses of context because these variables often include many zeroes due to the Taiwanese immigrant population being relatively small and concentrated in specific areas of the United States. Thus, the state level could well be the best and preferred unit of geography with which to take into account the racial composition of Taiwanese racial identifiers.

Another limitation of my thesis is that most of the independent variables used to predict Taiwanese racial identity were socioeconomic or demographic in nature. I was not able to include variables relating to how Taiwanese immigrants would have nationally identified themselves in their country of origin or variables concerning their political ideologies. These variables have been shown to be important in predicting national and ethnic identity in Taiwan which certainly could influence racial identity in the United States. This appears to be the situation since my findings seemed to show a link between trends in national identity in Taiwan and racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants in the United States.

Future Research

While my analyses in this thesis examined how Taiwanese immigrants racially identified with census racial categories between 1980 and 2000, and how socioeconomic and demographic variables were able to predict Taiwanese identity, my thesis, owing to

its quantitative nature, is not able to answer the question of why Taiwanese immigrants racially identified with the census categories they chose.

Earlier in this chapter I discussed how the Chinese racial category is a federally standard racial category option from which to choose from in the census. I also argued that some Taiwanese immigrants may not necessarily racially identify as Chinese because they prefer that identity, but do so because they are accepting of the fact that this is the way U.S. racial discourse classifies them. Rodriguez (2000), in discussing Latinos who identify with one of the standard racial categories, warns that it does not mean that they have “assimilated or adopted” the U.S. racial classification scheme. She finds that for some Latinos who mark a standard racial category, they do so because they accept that they are racially classified in the U.S. in a specific way or feel pressure to racially identify among standard racial categories. Thus, in the future I would like to conduct qualitative interviews and question respondents on why they chose to identify in the manner they did on the standard race question in the Census and in an alternative format where Taiwanese is included as a race category.

This thesis also highlights the importance of the effect of national identity in Taiwan on the racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants. In order to further analyze how national identity affects racial identity I would like to study in greater detail the lived experiences of first-generation Taiwanese immigrants and their racial formation process. In the future, through qualitative interviews I would like to examine whether and how pre-migration experiences in Taiwan and post-migration experiences in the United States tend to affect the racial formation process of Taiwanese immigrants. More specifically, I

would investigate whether and how do ideas about China-Taiwan (cross-strait) relations and political concerns developed in the homeland affect national identity in Taiwan and my respondents' racial identity in the United States. I would also like to examine whether and how other pre and post migration factors (e.g. U.S. incorporation and transnational ties) affect the racial formation of Taiwanese immigrants. Understanding these processes might shed light on how the findings in this thesis such as a decline in Chinese racial identities from 1980 to 2000 and an increase in Taiwanese racial identity correspond to similar findings of rising Taiwanese national identity and declining Chinese national identity in Taiwan from 1992-2006.

Conclusion

In expanding the literature on Asian immigrant racial identity, this thesis has highlighted the connection between national identity in the homeland and racial identity in the immigrant receiving country for Taiwanese immigrants. An important finding is that Chinese racial identities decreased and non-Chinese, mainly Taiwanese, racial identities, increased between 1980 and 2000. These increases were shown to be statistically significant. These changes in racial identity among Taiwanese immigrants in the United States seemed to correspond to the findings of rising Taiwanese national identities and declining Chinese national identities in Taiwan between 1992-2006, thus suggesting a link between national identity in Taiwan and the racial identity of Taiwanese immigrants in the United States.

Another important finding is that non-standard racial identities (e.g. Taiwanese and the biracial identity of both Chinese and Taiwanese) grew in prevalence between

1980 and 2000. This suggests that Taiwanese immigrants like other immigrants are challenging the racial discourse of the United States by racially identifying with non-standard racial categories. In addition, this finding leads to my questioning of whether the racial categories in the census can accurately reflect immigrant identities and the possibility of standard racial categories acting as pan-ethnic labels that hinder and hide the true racial identities of immigrants (see also similar discussions in Prewitt, 2013).

Finally this thesis presents a multilevel model of racial identity that is more statistically appropriate and correct than Yu and Chiang's (2009) disaggregated contextual level analysis. Most importantly, this thesis supports other literature concerning the importance of residential and geographic location on racial identity. My findings tend to support the argument that the way other people around you racially identify impacts your own racial identity. For my sample of Taiwanese immigrants, an increase in the proportion of Taiwanese racial identifiers in the state increased the odds of racially identifying as Taiwanese over Chinese.

Overall these findings show support for the theory of racial formation. The link between national identity and racial identity seems to highlight the social and political construction of racial identity for Taiwanese immigrants. Furthermore, the emergence and growth of non-standard racial identities among Taiwanese immigrants appear to highlight the state's role in minimizing racial identities through federal standard racial categories. Viewing Chinese as a pan-racial identity in the census is exceptionally relevant for the Taiwanese immigrant population who has traditionally been encompassed and labeled as part of the Chinese population, when in fact the Chinese

population in the U.S. is tremendously diversified in terms of national origins, culture, and language (Zhou (2001) as cited in Min and Kim (2009)).

Overall, racial formation theory provides a unique framework for analyzing the case of the racial identification of Taiwanese immigrants. Taiwanese immigrants are seen as entering a society in which race is socially and politically constructed. Upon entering the United States, Taiwanese immigrants are forced to choose from racial categories that have been mandated by the Census Bureau and the Office of Management and Budget. However one's "writing-in" of Taiwanese and the biracial identity of Chinese and Taiwanese appears to reflect the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited and transformed.

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